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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this manual, which accompanies a video program, is to provide general background information for foreign language teachers who are, or soon will be, teaching in total, partial, or two-way immersion classrooms. Part of a series of video programs, this manual provides definitions, results, and answers to the most commonly asked questions about immersion programs. This teacher's manual and the accompanying video may be used in a variety of ways. The viewer may first wish to read the information in the section "Background Reading," and then view the video program and complete the related activities included in the manual, or the viewer may wish to first watch the video, read the articles, and complete the activities in the manual. The teacher activities included in this manual focus on the following: immersion program models; immersion programs in the United States; goals of immersion; the roles of teachers, administrators, and parents in immersion education; advantages of elementary school programs; membership organizations; and publications. (Answers to 20 commonly asked questions and research and evaluation studies are includes.) (Contains 18 references.) (VWL)

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE IMMERSION:

an introduction

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Division of Academic Skills
Office of Instruction and Program Development
Montgomery County Public Schools
Rockville, Maryland

1990

FL 021 167

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FOREIGN LANGUAGE IMMERSION: AN INTRODUCTION

TEACHER'S ACTIVITY MANUAL

Montgomery County Public Schools
Office of Instruction and Program Development
Department of Academic Skills
850 Hungerford Drive
Rockville, Maryland 20850-1747

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Photograph by David Frey

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PREFACE

Video production

The production of this video program and manual was funded by a federal grant from the U.S. Department of Education, Title VI, International Research and Studies: Improving Foreign Language Methodology Through Immersion Teacher Training. This grant was developed and implemented by the Office of Instructional and Program Development, Department of Academic Skills, Foreign Languages, Montgomery County Public Schools, Rockville, Maryland, from July, 1988, to June, 1989. The activities for this grant were carried out by Eileen Lorenz, immersion resource teacher and Myriam Met, foreign language coordinator.

The production of this program would not have been possible without the cooperation and support of the elementary immersion staff and students of the three Montgomery County Public Schools immersion programs: Oak View, Rock Creek Forest, and Rolling Terrace elementary schools. Montgomery County Publics Schools television services staff members also made significant contributions to this project.

Upon request, this manual and video program will be distributed to school districts and institutions of higher education to be used for nonprofit training workshops and research projects. Requests for these materials should be accompanied by a $25 check made payable to Montgomery County Public Schools. Requests should be addressed to:

Department of Academic Skills
Foreign Language Coordinator
Montgomery County Public Schools
850 Hungerford Drive
Rockville, MD 20850

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the video program and manual

The purpose of the program and manual is to provide general background information for foreign language teachers who are, or will soon be, teaching in total, partial or two-way immersion classrooms. The first in a series of 12 video programs, Foreign Language Immersion: An Introduction provides definitions, research results and answers to the most commonly asked questions about immersion programs.

How to use the video program and manual

The Teacher's Activity Manual and the video have been designed to complement one another and may be used in a variety of ways. The viewer may first wish to read the information found in the section, "Background Reading," and then view the video program and complete the related activities included in the manual. Or, the viewer may wish first to watch the video, read the articles and complete the activities in the manual.

The video and accompanying activity manual may be effectively used by either one teacher or by a group of teachers. Multiple viewings to review specific sections of the video provide opportunities to use the program to support a variety of objectives.

ACTIVITY I

IMMERSION PROGRAM MODELS

Recommended Background Reading

The purpose of this activity is to examine more closely the similarities and differences among the three most common early immersion program models. Before beginning this activity, it is highly recommended that you read pages 3 through 16 in IMMERSION TEACHER HANDBOOK by Marguerite Ann Snow, Center for Language Education and Research, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987. This reference provides additional background information about total, partial, and two-way immersion programs.

I. In the United States, the most common elementary foreign language immersion programs are total, partial, and two-way. Note on the grid found on page 3 special characteristics of each of these program models. Then, if possible, use your grid to discuss with a colleague the differing characteristics that you have noted for each. Compare characteristics you have noted for each program model with those noted on page 4.

II. A list of immersion programs that exist in the U.S. compiled by the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL), Washington, D.C. is found on pages 5-15. Review this list in order to identify any nearby school districts that have immersion programs. If possible, arrange to visit one or several immersion classes.

Early Immersion Program Models

	Total	Partial	Two-Way
Amount of time spent in second language			
Content areas taught in second language			
Degree of second language proficiency			
Academic mastery achieved			
Strengths			
Special considerations			

Early Immersion Program Models

	Total	Partial	Two-Way
Amount of time spent in second language	In early grades all classroom instruction is conducted in the second language. Instruction in English is gradually introduced in Grade 2 or later .	Fifty percent of the school day is conducted in English, fifty percent in the second language.	Amount of instruction in each language varies. No less than fifty percent of the school day is conducted in the foreign language.
Content areas taught in second language	Instruction is of standard school curriculum; e.g., mathematics, social studies, science, and reading/language arts.	Selection of subjects taught in the second language is a local school option.	Selection of subjects taught in the second language is a local school option.
Degree of second language proficiency	Students attain native-like receptive skills and a high degree of fluency for productive skills by the end of elementary school.	Students attain a high level of proficiency in the second language by the end of elementary school.	Studies in progress indicate that both groups develop a high level of proficiency in both languages.
Academic mastery achieved	Students attain same levels as non-immersion peers.	Students attain the same levels as non-immersion peers.	Results to date indicate the same level of mastery as nonimmersion peers.
Strengths	After English language skills have been introduced, students' skills are on the same level as nonimmersion students. On measures of second language skills, total immersion students outperform peers in partial immersion programs and in nonimmersion program models.	Students generally do not experience any initial lag in English skills. One partial immersion teacher can teach two groups of students daily.	Students develop positive intergroup relations. Program provides daily interaction with native speakers.
Special considerations	Program requires qualified teachers and appropriate materials. Program requires separation of the two languages, once English is introduced. In early years, students often experience a lag in English punctuation, capitalization, and spelling.	Program requires qualified teachers and appropriate materials. Program requires separation of the two languages. Program needs to insure that students develop the foreign language skills necessary to learn the curriculum.	Program requires qualified teachers and appropriate materials. Program requires separation of the two languages. Program requires a sufficient number of native speakers of the foreign language at each grade level.

APPENDIX B

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Alaska	Anchorage/Baxter	-Started 1988 -Partial immersion -Funding: special grant	1	28 Grade 3	1	Spanish	Carol A. Hussey, Principal Baxter Elementary School 2991 Baxter Rd. Anchorage, AK 99504 907-333-6559
Alaska	Anchorage/Sandlake	-Started 1989 -Partial immersion	1	50 Grade 1	2	Japanese	Denice Clyne, Principal Sandlake Elementary School 7500 Jewel Lake Rd. Anchorage, AK 99502 907-243-2161
California	Culver City	-Started 1971 -Local funding -Total immersion -Magnet school	1	160	5	Spanish	Dennis Fox, Principal El Rincon Elementary School 11177 Overland Ave. Culver City, CA 90230 213-839-5285
California	Davis	-Started 1982 -Local funding and parental assistance -Total immersion	3	251 Grades K-6	10	Spanish	Mary Lin Pitalo Davis Joint Unified School District 526 B St. Davis, CA 95616 916-756-0144
California	Long Beach Unified School District	-Started 1989 -Total immersion -Magnet school -Local funding -Will continue to add one grade each year until it is a K-5 program	1	50	2	Spanish	Janice McNab, Principal Patrick Henry Elementary School 3720 Canehill Ave. Long Beach, CA 90808 213-421-3754

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
California	San Diego	-Started 1977 -Special funding in initial years; magnet funding now -Total immersion for K-6 -Partial immersion 7-12 -Magnet schools	6 (includes 2 secondary schools)	705 Total imm. 95 Partial imm.	43	French Spanish	Tim Allen, Director of Second Language Education San Diego City Schools Education Center 4100 Normal St. San Diego, CA 92103-2682 619-293-8096
California	San Francisco/Buena Vista	-Started 1983 -Local funding -Total immersion -Grades K-1: 90% immersion (English is oral enrichment) Grade 2: 80% immersion (transfer to English reading)	1	315	10	Spanish	Linda Luevano, Principal Buena Vista Elementary School 1670 Noe St. San Francisco, CA 94127 415-239-0518
California	San Francisco/West Portal	-Started 1984 -Local funding -Total immersion (with 80% Chinese, 20% English)	1	72	8	Cantonese	Kathleen Shimizu, Principal West Portal Elementary School 5 Lenox Way San Francisco, CA 94127 415-821-1852
California	San Jose School District	-Started 1986 -Total immersion -Magnet school -Local and state funding -Two-way immersion: classes include native Spanish speakers and native English speakers	1	170 Grades K-3	6	Spanish	Linda Luporini-Hakmi, Resource Teacher Billingual Immersion Program Washington School 100 Oak St. San Jose, CA 95119 408-998-6261

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
California	Stockton Unified School District	-Started 1987 -Total immersion in K shifting to partial immersion by grade 5 -Magnet school -Articulated with junior and senior high programs -Federal and state funding -Will continue to add one grade each year until it is a K-5 program	1	67 Grades K-2	3 Spanish 1 English	Spanish	Ann Tuliso Valenzuela Multilingual Multicultural School 419 E Downing Stockton, CA 95206 209-944-4275
District of Columbia	Washington, DC/ Washington International	-Started 1966 -Tuition (independent school) -Total immersion, Nursery & Kindergarten -Partial immersion, grades 1-8 -Additional option of a Dutch language & literature program, grades 4-12 -I.B. in grades 11 & 12	1	570	72	French Spanish Dutch	Dexter Lewis, Headmaster Washington International School 3100 Macomb St. NW Washington, DC 20008 202-364-1818
District of Columbia	Washington, DC/Oyster	-Started 1971 -Local funding -Partial immersion	1	310 Pre K-6	12 Spanish 12 English	Spanish	Elena Izquierdo, Principal Oyster Elementary School 29th and Calvert Sts. NW Washington, DC 20008 202-673-7277
Hawaii	Honolulu	-Started 1987 -Total immersion -State funding	2	80	4	Hawaiian	Robert Lokomaika'iokalani Snakenberg 189 Lunalilo Home Rd. Honolulu, HI 96825 808-395-8782

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Illinois	Chicago Public Schools	-Started 1975 -Funding: local, state, bilingual, OEEO -Partial immersion -Magnet school -Two-way immersion: classes include 60% native Spanish speakers and 40% native English speakers	1	630 Grades Pre-K-8	30	Spanish	Eva Helwing, Principal Inter-American Magnet School 919 W. Barry Chicago, IL 60657 312-880-8190
Maryland	Montgomery County Public Schools/ Rolling Terrace	-Started 1983 -Small outside funding -Partial immersion	1	173 Grades K-6	5	Spanish	Geraldine Meltz, Principal Rolling Terrace Elementary School 705 Bayfield St. Silver Spring, MD 20912 301-431-7600
Maryland	Montgomery County Public Schools/Oak View	-Started 1974 -Small outside funding -Total immersion -Articulation with jr. high: one subject course per year for former immersion pupils	1	272 Grades K-6	10	French	William Baranick, Principal Oak View Elementary School 400 E. Wayne Ave. Silver Spring, MD 20901 301-650-6434
Maryland	Montgomery County Public Schools/Rock Creek Forest	-Started 1977 -Local funding -Total immersion -Magnet school	1	112 Grades K-6	5	Spanish	Sandra Walker, Principal Rock Creek Forest Elementary School 8330 Grubb Rd. Chevy Chase, MD 20815 301-650-6410
Maryland	Prince George's County Public Schools	-Started 1986 -Total immersion -Magnet schools -Funding: local, state, and federal	2	225 Grades K-3 expanding to grade 6	9	French	Pat Barr-Harrison or Dora Kennedy Foreign Language Supervisors Prince George's County Public Schools 7801 Sheriff Rd. Landover, MD 20785 301-386-1519

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Massachusetts	Holliston	-Started 1979 -Local funding -Total immersion K-2, partial immersion 3-4 -Partial immersion offered in middle school	1	125	5	French	Anne Towle Miller Elementary School Woodland St. Holliston, MA 01746 508-429-1600
Massachusetts	Milton Public Schools	-Started 1987 -Local funding -Total immersion	1	86 Grades 1-2	4	French	Mary B. Schofield Asst. Supt. of Schools Milton Public Schools 44 Edge Hill Rd. Milton, MA 02186 617-696-7220
Michigan	Detroit/FLICSS	-Started 1984 -Local funding and parental assistance -Total immersion	1	152 Grades K-4	7	Spanish French Chinese, Japanese Starting 1989/90 Grades K-1	Ineala D. Chambers, Administrator-in-Charge Foreign Language Immersion & Cultural Studies School 3550 John C. Lodge Detroit, Michigan 48201 313-494-0298
Michigan	Detroit/International	-Started 1981 -Tuition (independent school) -Parental assistance -Partial immersion	1	40	6	French German	Teresa Carlson Academic Director The International School 30800 Evergreen Southfield, MI 48076 313-642-1178

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Minnesota	Minneapolis Public Schools	-Started 1985 -Local and federal funding -Partial immersion -Math, sci., soc. studies, taught in Spanish	1	250 Grades K-6	8	Spanish	Fred Dietrich, Principal Wilder Fundamentals School 3322 Elliot Ave. South Minneapolis, MN 55407 612-627-2634 or Lee Lundin, Consultant, World Languages Minneapolis Public Schools 807 NE Broadway Minneapolis, MN 55413 612-627-2184
Minnesota	Robbinsdale School District	-Started 1987 -Total immersion -Magnet school	1	170	5	Spanish	Kathryn House Language Immersion Sigurd Olson School 1751 Kelly Drive Golden Valley, MN 55442 612-546-7126
Minnesota	St. Paul	-Started 1986 -Total immersion -Magnet school -Will add one grade each year until it is a K-6 program	1	150	8	Spanish	Al Pieper, Principal Adams School 615 S. Chatsworth St. Paul, MN 55102 612-298-1595 or Howard Hathaway, Supervisor World Languages St. Paul Public Schools 360 Colborne St. St. Paul, MN 55102 612-228-3649

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Missouri	Kansas City	-Started 1987 -Local and state funding -Magnet schools -Immersion and FLES -To be articulated through grade12	9	2500	73	French German Spanish	Paul A. Garcia Curriculum Specialist, Foreign Language School District of Kansas City 3710 Paseo Kansas City, MO 64109 816-968-4746
New York	Rochester	-Started 1981 -Local funding with additional Chap. II funds -Total immersion (except English reading) -Magnet schools	4	185 Grades 1-3	6	Spanish	Alessio Evangelista Director Foreign Language Dept. City School District 131 W. Broad St. Rochester, NY 14608 716-325-4560 (x2315)
North Carolina	Gates County School District	-Started 1988 -Partial immersion -Local and state funding -Small rural school district	2	67	2	French	Alline B. Riddick or Michael T. Conner P.O. Box 125 Gatesville, NC 27938 919-357-1113
North Carolina	Western Rockingham City Schools	-Started 1987 -Partial immersion -Social studies is taught in Spanish	1	57	1	Spanish	Gail C. Collins, Principal Charles H. Scott Elementary School 410 Decatur St. Madison, NC 27025 919-548-9629

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Ohio	Cincinnati Public Schools	-Started 1974 -Local funding -Magnet schools -Articulated with junior and senior high -Partial immersion in 6 schools; foreign language integrated into curriculum, e.g. art, music, and P.E. in 4 schools	Partial immersion: 4 2 Curriculum integrated: 1 1 1 1 1 Middle school	 1083 766 215 255 585 50 61 79 48 509	 24 17 3 3 4 2 2 2 2 16	 Spanish French Spanish French German Arabic Chinese Japanese Russian Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian, Spanish	Nelida Mietta-Fontana or Carolyn Andrade, Supervisors Cincinnati Public Schools 230 E. 9th St. Cincinnati, OH 45202 513-369-4937
Ohio	Columbus Public Schools	-Started 1987 -Local funding only -Total immersion -Magnet school -Articulated with junior and senior high	1 1	275 K-5 175 K-5	10 8	French Spanish	Diane Ging, Foreign Language Supervisor Alum Crest Center 2200 Winslow Dr. Columbus, OH 43207 614-365-5022
Oklahoma	Tulsa Public Schools (Independent School District #1)	-Started 1981 -Local and federal funding -Total immersion -Partial immersion in middle school	1	125	6	Spanish	Jerry D. Carr, Principal Eliot Elementary School 1442 E. 36th St. Tulsa, OK 74105 918-743-9709
Oregon	Eugene/Fox Hollow (District 4J)	-Started 1983 -Local funding -Partial immersion -Magnet school -Program will continue to expand through middle school and an international H.S. program	1	230	12	French	Nancy Nelson, Principal Fox Hollow French School 5055 Mahalo Eugene, OR 97405 503-687-3177

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Oregon	Eugene/Meadowlark (District 4J)	-Started 1983 -Local funding -Partial immersion -Magnet school -Program will continue to expand through middle school and an international H.S. program	1	245	14	Spanish	Ernie Carbajal, Principal Meadowlark Bilingual School 1500 Queens Way Eugene, OR 97401 503-687-3368
Oregon	Eugene/Yugin Gakuen (District 4J)	-Started 1988 -Local funding -Magnet school -Will continue to add one grade each year until it is a 1-12 program	1	25 Grade 1	2	Japanese	Darby Giannone, Principal Yugin Gakuen 250 Silver Lane Eugene, OR 97404 503-687-3165
Oregon	Portland Public Schools	-Started Spanish 1987 -Started Japanese 1989 -Partial immersion -Magnet school -Local funding -Will continue to add 1 grade each until it is a K-5 program -Middle and high school programs planned to receive magnet graduates	3	350 Spanish Grades K-3 50 Japanese Grade K	7 Spanish 7 English 1 Japanese 1 English	Spanish Japanese	Mary Jubitz Elementary Curriculum Coordinator Portland Public Schools 3830 SE 14th Portland, OR 97202 503-280-6196
Texas	Fort Worth	-Started 1983 -Local funding -Partial immersion	2	140 Grades K-5	7	Spanish	Annette Lowry, Foreign Language Dept. Ft. Worth Independent School District 3210 W. Lancaster Ft. Worth, TX 76107 817-927-0528
Utah	Alpine School District/ Cherry Hill	-Started 1978 -Local funding -Total immersion	1	135 Grades 1-6	5	Spanish	Darrell L. Jensen Cherry Hill School 250 East 1650 South Orem, UT 84058 801-227-8710

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Utah	Alpine School District /Meadow	-Started 1983	1	169 Grades 1-6	6	Spanish	Jack Reid, Principal Meadow School 176 S 500 W Lehi, UT 84043 801-768-3569
Utah	Alpine School District/ Northridge	-Started 1983	1	108 Grades1-5	2	Spanish	Bruce Farrer, Principal Northridge School 1660 N 50 E Orem, UT 84057 801-227-8720
Utah	Alpine School District/Manila	-Started 1984	1	86 Grades 1-4	3	Spanish	John Burton, Principal Manila School 1726 N 600 W Pleasant Grove, UT 84062
Utah	Alpine School District/Windsor	-Started 1982	1	186 Grades 1-6	3	Spanish	Steve Cherrington, Principal Windsor School 1315 N Main Orem, UT 84058 801-227-8745
Utah	Salt Lake City School District	-Started 1983 -Total immersion -Local funding	1	99	4	Spanish	Mary Haney, Principal or Aida Lopez, Foreign Language Specialist Newman Elementary School 1269 N Colorado St. Salt Lake City, Utah 84116 801-533-3055
Virginia	Arlington County Public Schools	-Started 1986 -Local funding -Partial immersion -Two-way immersion	1	87 Grades 1-4	4	Spanish	Paul Wireman, Principal Key Elementary School 2300 Key Blvd. Arlington, VA 22201 703-358-4210

TOTAL AND PARTIAL IMMERSION LANGUAGE PROGRAMS IN U.S. ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1989

State	School District	Comments	No. of Schools	No. of Pupils	No. of Teachers	Languages	Contacts
Virginia	Fairfax County Public Schools	-Started 1989 -Partial immersion -Funding: local, federal -To be articulated with junior and senior high	8	480	8	French Japanese Spanish	Maria Wilmeth Fairfax County Public Schools 3705 Crest Drive Annandale, VA 22003 703-698-7500
Washington	Bellevue Public Schools	-Started 1986 -Total immersion -Will continue to add one grade each year until it is a K-5 program	1	172	7	Spanish	Frank Koontz, Director of School Instructional Services Pre/K-5 Bellevue Public Schools P.O. Box 90010 Bellevue, WA 98009-9010 206-455-6028
Wisconsin	Milwaukee Public Schools	-Started 1977 -Local funding -Total immersion begins with 4 yr. old kindergarten -Continuing immersion in middle school: social studies, language arts and math in 2nd language -Continuing immersion in high school: language arts and social studies in the 2nd language	3 elementary schools 1 middle school 1 high school	361 French, K-5 397 German, K-5 344 Spanish, K-5 352 Middle school 41 High school	61	French German Spanish	Helena Curtain Foreign Language Curriculum Specialist Milwaukee Public Schools P.O. Drawer 10K Milwaukee, WI 53201 414-475-8305

NOTE: This list includes elementary schools that teach all or part of their curriculum through a second language (referred to as total or partial immersion programs). The majority of these programs are for students whose native language is English and who are developing proficiency in a second language. A few sample "two-way immersion" programs (also known as "bilingual immersion" or "interlocking" programs), where classes include both native English and Spanish speakers learning both languages, are also included. For more information, contact:

Center for Applied Linguistics
1118 22nd Street NW
Washington DC 20037
(202) 429-9292

ACTIVITY II

GOALS OF IMMERSION

Recommended Background Reading

The purpose of this activity is to explore further the four primary goals of immersion programs. Before beginning Activity II, it is highly recommended that you read the article, A Review of Immersion Education in Canada: Research and Evaluation Studies, by Merrill Swain. This article presents a summary of studies that have investigated to what degree the goals of immersion have been attained.

As presented in the video program, the four primary goals of immersion programs are for students to develop skills in the following areas:

GOALS

- o English language skills comparable to nonimmersion peers
- o Subject matter achievement at a level equal to nonimmersion peers
- o Foreign language proficiency
- o Cultural knowledge and understanding

I. Are there any other goals that you can think of that might be achieved through immersion programs?

II. Reading and language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies comprise the four major areas of study in the elementary school curriculum. Discuss with a colleague how the goals of immersion programs relate to these four academic areas of study.

ACTIVITY II

III. Recognizing that each of the four stated goals of immersion programs is of major importance, do you think that administrators, teachers, foreign language educators, and parents would rank these goals in the same order of priority? If not, note below how you think each of these constituencies would rank them. Give reasons for the priority listing that you present.

ADMINISTRATORS	TEACHERS	FOREIGN LANGUAGE EDUCATORS	PARENTS

ACTIVITY III

ROLES

Recommended Background Reading

The purpose of this activity is to explore further the contributions to successful immersion programs from a variety of constituencies. Before beginning this activity, it is highly recommended that you read pages 39 through 40 in IMMERSION TEACHER HANDBOOK by Marguerite Ann Snow Center for Language Education and Research, University of California, Los Angeles, 1987.

Successful immersion programs result from the efforts of many individuals. They include:

- o Administrators
- o Immersion and nonimmersion teachers
- o Community members and parents

I. Using the list above as a point of departure, note the importance of special contributions to a successful immersion program from each of these constituencies. Are there other groups that might be added to this list?

II. Describe what you believe to be the role of each of the three categories of individuals listed above in establishing and maintaining successful immersion programs.

III. List ways that you can involve parents in an immersion program. Compare your ideas with those of a colleague.

ACTIVITY IV

ADVANTAGES OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOL FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

The following advantages of learning a foreign language in the elementary school are outlined in the video program:

- o Elementary students have a longer time in school to master a second language
- o Elementary students are highly motivated language learners, and are frequently more enthusiastic than adolescent students
- o Elementary students who learn a second language at an early age exhibit more creative and flexible thinking skills
- o Studies show that students studying a second language often achieve higher standardized test scores than their peers

I. Can you think of any other advantages to students who begin to study a foreign language at the elementary school level?

II. Can you think of any disadvantages to students who begin to study a foreign language at the elementary school level?

III. Compare your own foreign language experiences as a student with the immersion approach to foreign language learning. How were your experiences similar to and/or different from immersion?

IV. Can you identify common perceptions (myths and facts) that exist about foreign language learning and bilingualism?

ACTIVITY V

PLAN AN INFORMATION PROGRAM

Recommended Background Reading

The purpose of this activity is to examine more closely the information about immersion programs that you, as an immersion teacher, will have numerous opportunities to share with administrators, nonimmersion teachers, and parents. Before beginning this activity, it is highly recommended that you read the article "Twenty Questions" by Myriam Met, foreign language coordinator, Montgomery County Public Schools, Rockville, Maryland. This reference provides a list of the 20 most commonly asked questions about immersion programs.

I. From the list of groups interested in immersion listed below, select one and design a 20-minute presentation to explain total, partial and two-way immersion programs. In your planning, consider topics that might receive different emphasis if your audience is comprised primarily of:

- o Administrators and/or school board members
- o Nonimmersion teachers
- o Prospective parents
- o Secondary foreign language teachers not familiar with immersion education

II. Role play with a colleague a pre-enrollment parent conference. This process may be helpful to identify a variety of parent questions that you will most likely encounter as an immersion teacher.

ACTIVITY V

PLAN AN INFORMATION PROGRAM - CONTINUED

III. Parent-teacher communications play an important role in successful immersion programs. Make a list of ways to communicate regularly with parents. For example, what topics would you include in a monthly newsletter to parents about your classroom?

IV. Plan a 20-minute back-to-school night presentation to parents, explaining the curriculum, classroom procedures, homework policy, and any other information that will be helpful to parents.

MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages (ACTFL)
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PUBLICATIONS

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Foreign Language Annals
American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, Inc.
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Yonkers, NY 10701

FLES NEWS
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Department of Foreign Languages and Literature
300 Pearson Hall
Iowa State University
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Hispania
James R. Chatham
Mississippi State University
Lee Hall 218
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Mississippi State, MS 39762-6349

Modern Language Journal
University of Wisconsin Press
114 N. Murray Street
Madison, WI 53715

Additional organizations that are interested in second language learning include:

Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL)
1118 22nd Street
Washington, D. C. 20037

National Network of Early Language Learners (NELL)
P.O. Box 4982
Silver Spring, MD 20904

Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE)
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario M5S1V6
Canada

Second/Foreign Language Acquisition by Children (SLAC)
Dr. Rosemarie A. Benya
East Central Oklahoma State University
Ada, Oklahoma 74820

BACKGROUND READING

How the Model Evolved

Dissatisfaction with current practices of teaching French and a growing realization of the important role of French in Canadian life were rallying points for a group of concerned Canadian parents to consider alternative approaches to the teaching of French as a second language in 1963. These parents felt that their children, like themselves a generation before, had been inadequately prepared by the school system to use French for any authentic real-life purpose outside of the classroom. The efforts of the parent group and a team of psychologists from McGill University were finally rewarded in 1965 with the creation of a new alternative — a French immersion program which provided a total French environment for the children when they entered kindergarten. Today, by comparison, the French immersion model with its humble beginnings in the Montreal suburb of St. Lambert, has spread throughout the ten Canadian provinces and at last count boasted an enrollment of approximately 200,000 English-speaking children (Tourigny, 1987).

During the late '60s, word spread south the the United States where a group of professors from UCLA succeeded in finding local support for the establishment of a Spanish Immersion Program in Culver City, California in 1971. Since the early '70s immersion programs have spread across the United States as well, albeit in a more limited way, so that presently there are at least 30

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immersion programs representing a diversity of foreign languages - Spanish, German, French, Cantonese (and soon to be Japanese) (Rhodes, 1987).

Features of the Total Immersion Model

Before going further, it is necessary to define the immersion model. As discussed in the previous section, immersion education grew out of a grass-roots movement of English-speaking parents who sought a more effective approach to the teaching of French as a foreign language in the elementary schools in Canada. It is important to keep in mind, therefore, that this handbook is concerned with describing an educational approach to the teaching of foreign languages to language majority students. It is not the purpose of this handbook to treat the many varied and interesting approaches to bilingual education and ESL instruction in the United States which are designed for language minority (non-English-speaking) students.

Four Key Features. The immersion model rests on four key features which provide a strong theoretical and pedagogical foundation both for its application as a model of foreign language education specifically, and more generally and importantly, as an effective model of elementary education:

1. Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of immersion education is that the sedond language is used for the delivery of subject matter instruction. In other words, the second language is the medium of instruction for school subjects such as mathematics, science, and social studies. Immersion education is based on the belief that children are able to learn a second language in the same way as they learned their first language:

(a) by being exposed to authentic input in the second language; and (b) by needing to use the second language for real, communicative purposes.

Viewed from this perspective, subject matter teaching is also second language teaching. The standard school curriculum becomes the basis for meaningful input, since the purpose of school is to teach subject matter. Immersion programs capitalize on this content learning for language acquisition purposes and provide an authentic need for students to communicate information about the subject matter. Viewed in this way, immersion education actually provides a two-for-one kind of opportunity: students learn the regular school subjects that all youngsters must study in elementary school while "incidentally"1 learning a second language.

2. A second premise of immersion education is that second language learners benefit from being separated from native speakers of the second language. Since the learners are all in the same "linguistic boat" (Krashen, 1984), they receive instruction especially prepared and designed for their developing levels of proficiency in the second language.

3. A third premise of immersion reflects the broader perspective of the world outside of school, specifically in the

1 I use the term "incidentally" with some trepidation here. A key feature of immersion education is that language learning occurs through the vehicle of content instruction. There is little or no explicit, or formal teaching of the second language compared to other more traditional foreign language teaching methods. Thus, incidental learning is a feature of the model, but is not to be interpreted in a more general way as "casual" or "haphazard." On the contrary, in the actual delivery of instruction, language teaching aims can indeed be very purposeful. This point will be discussed further in Section II.

United States. English-speaking children in immersion programs, although they receive the majority of their elementary school education in their second language, are in no danger of losing their first language. English is pervasive in their world--on TV and radio, in conversations with parents and friends, even in international travel to many foreign countries. In technical terms, immersion education promotes additive bilingualism (Lambert, 1980) since immersion students are adding to their linguistic repertoire and sense of identity through the experience of being schooled in the foreign language. The opposite situation is experienced by many language minority children, for example, native Spanish-speaking children, who are thrust into a subtractive environment. In a subtractive school environment, the new language (English) is learned at the expense of the native language. Powerful socio-cultural differences and academic achievement levels are believed to result from these contrasting types of school experiences.

4. The fourth key feature concerns the sequence and intensity of first and second language instruction. In the standard total immersion program, all initial instruction (starting in kindergarten) is provided in the second language. Instruction in the first language is added to the curriculum to some degree (e.g., English language arts and/or a selected content area such as social studies) in grade 3 and gradually over the course of elementary school more and more instruction is delivered in English. Of course, there are many variations of the total immersion model (some will be discussed later in this section), but the key features which distinguish a total immersion program from other types of foreign language instructional programs is the onset of second language instruction and the fact that the second

language is used for subject matter teaching. These features are best displayed in visual form in Figure 1, which depicts the percentage of instructional time devoted to instruction in the second language in the standard total immersion program (adapted from Dolson, 1985).

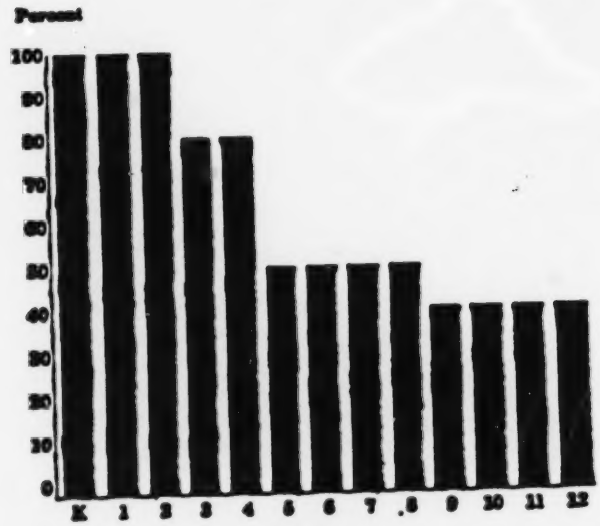

Figure 1
Percentage of Instructional Time in
Prototype Early Total Immersion Programs

Other Important Features of the Immersion Model.

1. Program Duration of at Least 4-6 Years - Second language learning is a gradual process. It takes many years to develop a strong academic and social foundation in the second language. Results of immersion programs must be evaluated over the entire period of elementary school. Parents must be informed of this fact so that reasonable expectations are set from the beginning of immersion education.

2. Separation of the Two Languages for Instruction - This principle is applied in two important ways in the immersion classroom. The same material is never repeated in the two languages. In other words, there is no translation of content instruction from the immersion language to the first language nor repetition of delivery in one language and then the other. The second application of this principle is the strict language domains of the instructors. It is always preferable, especially in the earlier grades, to have both an English-speaking model and a second language model. This is usually accomplished by setting-up English-speaking exchange teachers to conduct the English language arts component in the lower grades. In addition to maintaining separate language models, specialization of instruction in this way provides an important role for monolingual English teachers.

3. Home-School Collaboration - Since the inception of immersion programs, parents have played a very important role in setting up new immersion programs and providing continuing support for established programs.

Goals of Immersion Education

The preceding discussion of the theoretical premises of immersion education provides the backdrop for the statement of

specific goals of immersion programs.

1. Immersion students wil make normal progress in achieving the objectives of the standard elementary school curriculum.
2. They will maintain normal progress is development of the first language (English).
3. They will develop native-like proficiency in speaking, listening, reading and writing the foreign language.
4. They will develop positive attitudes toward themselves as English speakers and toward representatives of the ethnic or linguistic community of the foreign language they are learning.

A fifth goal may be desirable or mandatory in some American immersion settings:

5. They will have the opportunity to be schooled in an integrated setting with participants from a variety of ethnic groups.

How the Goals Measure Up. Unlike the parents of St. Lambert who were willing to risk enrolling their children in an experimental program in 1965 with only great enthusiasm and hope to sustain themselves, there is a great deal of evidence available to us in the '80s regarding the effectiveness of immersion education. The past twenty years have produced an accumulation of research studies initially aimed at allayng parental fears and, ultimately, designed to answer the broader questions of the effectiveness of the immersion model. The following are brief summaries of the research findings in the four principal areas laid out previously as the general goals of immersion education.

(1) Scholastic Achievement:

Immersion students have been tested using standardized tests in different subject-matter areas (e.g., English reading, mathematics, science). These tests were typically administered in English even though the subject matter may have been taught exclusively or mainly in the second language. The results from controlled comparison studies in both the Canadian and American contexts consistently indicate that immersion students do as well as or better than their monolingual peers in the subject areas tested (Lapkin & Swain, 1984; Campbell, 1984).

(2) English Language Development:

The overall findings from standardized testing of English language arts are that immersion students perform on par with their monolingual counterparts. In the first few years of an immersion program, there is generally an expected lag in performance since the students have not yet gbeen exposed to English language arts in the curriculum. The lag disappears once English language arts are introduced into the curriculum at grade 2, 3, or 4 (depending on the program). Indeed, it is interesting that the lag is so consistently slight. This finding provides evidence of the positive influence of the use of English outside of school and possibly of the degree to which skills (especially reading skills) are transferred from the second language to the native language.

(3) Second Language Development:

The research findings on second language development have been examined from two different perspectives. Comparison studies have been conducted comparing students from more traditional foreign language programs of the 20-30 minute per day variety (referred to as "core French" in Canada and FLES, Foreign Language

in the Elementary School, in the United States) (See Campbell, Gray, Rhodes, & Snow, 1985). In these studies, immersion students score significantly higher across the board in all the skill areas tested. However, comparisons of this type become almost impossible in the upper grades. The differential in attained proficiency becomes so great that the same test cannot always be given; the tests become too difficult for the "core French" and FLES students and, conversely, too easy for the immersion students.

Increasingly, it has become clear that a more appropriate comparison group is native speakers of the second language. This kind of comparison study has been possible in Canada where in certain provinces there exist native French speakers attending French-medium schools. The results are generally examined in two categories: ereceptive skills (listening and reading) and productive skills (speaking and writing). The Canadian findings consistently indicate the the receptive skills in French of immersion students are native-like by the end of elementary school. The same is not true of the productive skills, however. FIndings from virtually all immersion programs, whether in Canada or the United States, indicate that the productive skills of immersion students are not native-like. Immersion students achieve a level of fluency rarely, if ever, attained in any other type of foreign language program; however, their speech and writing lacks the grammatical accuracy and lexical variety of native speakers.

(4) Attitudinal Development:

Studies have shown no evidence of any problems in emotional or social adjustment among students in any of the different types of imersion programs. Several studies have been conducted

examining such social-psychological factors as attitudes toward representatives of the second language group and perceived psychological distance from the second language group. In general, immersion students in the early grades demonstrate very positive attitudes toward themselves and representatives of the second language group. While still being positive, however, their attitudes become less positive as the students progress through the immersion program in the upper grades. These changes have been attributed to increased peer pressure toward conformity as children grow older, continued socialization of ethnic prejudice, or general developmental changes in attitudes. Further study needs to address these important social-psychological effects of immersion schooling.

Variations of the Immersion Model

The main focus of this handbook is the total immerion model which was first established in Canada and is now in place in many American schools. As discussed, the two key features of total immersion are the time of onset of second language instruction and the intensity of instruction throughout the elementary school program. in total immersion programs, 100% of instruction in kindergarten through grade 2 is provided in the second language. By the upper grades, at least 50% of instruction continues to be offered in the second language. Since 1965, several variants of the total immersion model have been implemented which may be more desirable or more feasible depending on local needs and resources. These variants are described below:

Early Partial Immersion. - A program in which less than 100% of curriculum instruction during the primary grades is presented in the second language. The amount of second language instruction varies from program to program, but 50% first language instruction

and 50% second language instruction is the most common formula from kindergarten through grade 6. Reading is generally taught in both languages.

Delayed Immersion. - A variation of the immersio model in which the second language is not used as a medium of instruction in elementary school until grade four or five. Accordingly, students in delayed immersion programs learn to read in their first language. Often students in delayed immersion programs receive some second language instruction earlier in elementary school when the second language is taught as a school subject (e.g., French as a second language).

Late Immersion. - A type of immersion in which intensive use of the second language does not occur until the end of elementary school (grade 6) or the beginning of secondary school. Late immresion students usually receive some second language instruction in the earlier grades, but the second language is not used as the medium of instruction for subjects in the regular school curriculum.

Double Immersion. - An immersion program which employs two non-native languages as the media of instruction during the elementary grades. The two languages are usually selected for their sociocultural significance, perhaps one for economic or social benefits and the other for its religious or cultural importance. Double immersion programs can be classified as early if they begin in the primary grades or delayed if instruction in the two languages is held off until the upper elementary grades.

More recently, the assumptions of the immersion model have been applied to instructional programs for teaching language minority students in the United States. They are described in this section because it is important to clarify the many meanings

of the term "immersion" in order to avoid misunderstanding or confusion; however, as stated, these programs are not the primary focus of this handbook.

Two-way Bilingual Immersion. - A bilingual program designed to serve both the language majority (English speaker) and language minority (non-English speaker) students concurrently. In this type of program, the two language groups are purposefully mixed in the same classroom. In the lower elementary grades, all content instruction takes place in the home language of the language minority student (e.g., Spanish) with a short period devoted to oral English. In the upper elementary grades, approximately half the curriculum is taught in the home language and half in English. In this type of bilingual program, then, English-only students learn Spanish, for example, as a foreign language while continuing to develop their native English language skills; likewise, Spanish-only students learn English as a second language while becoming literate in their native Spanish language. The two-way approach provides excellent opportunities for students of diverse language and ethnic groups to work together on problem-solving and interactional activities and for students to serve as peer models. The goals of a two-way language program are for both groups to become bilingual, succeed academically, and develo positive inter-group relations.

Structured or Modified Immersion. - A variation of the traditional immersion program which is designed for language minority students. In a structured immersion program, language minority students receive all subject-matter instruction in their second language (English). For example, Limited English Proficient (LEP) students from a Spanish-speaking home background receive all school instruction in English. Structured immersion

differs from submersion programs in that instruction is planned so that all communication is at a level the second language learner can understand. Students are allowed to use the home language in class; however, the teacher (who is typically bilingual) uses only English.

Summary of Essential Components. The following chart adapted from the framework for evaluating methodologies developed by Richards and Rogers (1985) summarizes the main components of the immersion model.

Essential Components of the Immersion Model

APPROACH

a. Theory of the nature of language

- Language is a vehicle for expressing meaning
- The basic unit of language is the message

b. Theory of the nature of language learning

- Language is learned by learning about things; L2 acquisition parallels L1 acquisition
- Linguistic form is learned "incidentally"
- Learners progress through states of acquisition from pre-production to limited production to full production
- L1 is permitted in early stages; use of L2 encouraged thereafter
- Input must be made comprehensible
- Learners must have opportunities to produce, modify output
- Transfer of skills learned in L1 to L2
- Method capitalizes on motivation of learning subject matter

DESIGN

a. Objectives of the method

- Scholastic achievement
- L1 development
- L2 development
- Positive cross-cultural/ attitudinal development

b. A syllabus model

- Standard school curriculum

c. Types of learning and teaching activities

- Instructional activities relating to thematic units of the school curriculum

d. Learner roles

- Traditional role of acquirer of knowledge

e. Teacher roles

- Traditional role of dispenser of knowledge

f. Role of instructional materials

- Primary purpose of instructional material is to present and practice curricular content

PROCEDURES

a. Classroom techniques, practices, and behavior

1. Single language model (i.e., no language mixing)
2. Teacher's use of sheltered language
3. Teacher's use of extra-linguistic aids
4. Teachers choice of instructional techniques
5. Error correction techniques

SECTION III - SOME IMPORTANT REMAINING ISSUES

There are a number of other issues which may be unique to immersion teaching that a prospective teacher should be aware of. Several of these are briefly discussed below.

1. Student selection - Although immersion teachers may not be responsible for making decisions about student selection, their feedback is critical in formulating and reformulating guidelines for the screening of students. There are generally few restrictions on admittance to immersion programs. Research has shown that special education students do as well in immersion as they would in monolingual programs (Bruck, 1978). Some immersion teachers have strong opinions about the kinds of children that should not participate in immersion programs; others feel equally strongly about open access for as many types of children as possible. It's important that experienced teachers have a say in the decision-making process so that the policy is based on actual classroom experiences and not on general notions of who belongs in immersion or who does not belong.

2. Dealing with parents - Immersion parents are often very active, involved advocates of the immersion program. Initially, they raise a lot of questions and concerns. The immersion teacher must be well-versed on the why's and how's of immersion in order to satisfy concerned parents. This handbook will hopefully provide a good start to becoming an informed immersion teacher and a few additional references are recommended as further reading in the last section of the handbook. Secondly, immersion teachers must become skillful in channeling parental interest to for a positive and constructive component of the program. Thirdly, the immersion teacher must learn to deal with many practical issues, such as how parents can help their children at home when they do

not understand the language of the homework or how to deal with parent classroom volunteers who do not speak the immersion language.

3. Maintaining good relations with non-immersion teaching staff - Since most immersion programs are programs within a total school, immersion teachers usually must work with non-immersion teachers at the same school site. Unfortunately, in the past there have been many instances of divisiveness among the two staffs who share the same school. It is important for immersion teachers and administrators to be aware of the potential for conflict and to develop strategies for creating positive faculty rapport.

4. Articulating the elementary immersion program with the Junior and Senior High Schools - Another important lesson we've learned from the past is that it is never too soon to plan for the continuation of the immersion program in the junior (or middle) and senior high schools. Long-range planning indicates a district commitment to parents and thereby aids in the elementary school recruitment process. It also creates the needed time for program polanning, curriculum and materials development, and teacher selection. Well-articulated junior and senior high school programs can offer immersion students the extended opportunity to build on the foundation laid in elementary school and prepare them for future academic and professional pursuits. The elementary investment is too great to allow the progress made to slip in the upper grades. All immersion teachers must share the commitment to a well-articulated program from elementary school through high school.

5. Student assessment - On what basis should promotion decisions be made in immersion? Should teachers base these decisions on students' standardized English test results or on their

proficiency in the second language (which is rarely assessed formally due to lack of suitable instruments)? These are important questions that immersion teachers need to work out with school administrators to formulate a sound evaluation policy.

6. Teacher evaluation - How can an immersion administrator, who typically does not speak the immersion language, fairly or effectively evaluate teachers who, particularly at the lower elementary levels, conduct class exclusively in the second language? This is a very real concern since the majority of immersion school principals in the United States, and even many program coordinators, do not speak the second language. Again, guidelines must be set up which incorporate input from immersion teachers.

7. Coordinating the goals of immersion with other educational programs - In addition to the immersion program, many schools offer other educational programs such as Instrumental Music, Gifted and Talented Education (GATE), and Artists in Residence which, of course, are typically conducted in English. Students may participate in these programs several times a week, losing exposure to the second language and increasing their exposure to English. Many teachers are concerned about how these possibly conflicting objectives can be reconciled.

8. The role of formal second language instruction - Those interested in immersion education, from theorists to teachers, have debated the question of the role of formal language instruction in immersion programs. The original thinking, in keeping with the belief that second language acquisition processes parallel first language learning, was that there was no need to teach the formal rules of the second language. Through the years, hoever, more and more immersion teachers, noting persistent

grammatical errors, have begun on their own to incorporate formal grammar teaching into their language arts curricula. In fact, most of the immersion teachers surveyed reported that they teach formal rules of the immersion language as part of the curriculum. There is a range of opinion on when formal grammar teaching should commence, although the general consensus is to begin in the lower elementary grades. It is critical that, when taught, grammar rules should be presented <u>in context</u> (or within the language arts or writing activities). This topic remains in need of further research; it is an excellent example of an area where teachers have recognized a need and developed materials to address it.

TWENTY QUESTIONS: The Most Commonly Asked Questions About Starting an Immersion Program

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ABSTRACT Program planners of new elementary school foreign language immersion programs have similar concerns and questions. These generally relate to understanding what an immersion program is, how it is organized and administered, what the effects of the program on student achievement will be, how immersion programs are staffed, and what instructional materials are available. The purpose of this article is to address twenty of the most frequently asked questions about immersion.

Introduction

In recent years there has been growing interest in expanding opportunities for students to begin to develop foreign language proficiency in the elementary grades. In particular, immersion has received considerable attention because of its obvious effectiveness in both producing high levels of foreign language skills and English language achievement commensurate with expectations.

Program planners — administrators, foreign language educators, and parents — thinking about starting programs tend to have similar concerns and questions. Below are twenty frequently asked questions about immersion along with the responses. A bibliography provides references for further reading.

Question 1. What is a foreign language immersion program?

Response: Immersion is defined as a method of foreign language instruction in which the regular school curriculum is taught through the medium of the language. That is, the foreign language is the vehicle for content instruction; it is not the subject of instruction itself. Total immersion is one program format among several which range on a continuum in terms of time spent in the foreign language. In total immersion all schooling in the initial years is conducted in the foreign language, including reading/language arts. Partial immersion differs from total in that 50 percent of the school day is conducted in English right from the start. In partial immersion reading/language arts are always taught in English. Beyond that, the choice of subjects taught in each language is a local decision which varies. While the term immersion program is used only to refer to content instruction in the foreign language for a minimum of 50 percent of the school day, immersion concepts and techniques may be incorporated into other forms of foreign language instruction in the elementary school.

Question 2. What are the goals of an immersion program?

Response: Long-range goals of immersion are:

- Goal 1: To develop a high level of proficiency in understanding, speaking, reading, and writing the foreign language.
- Goal 2: To develop positive attitudes toward those who speak the foreign language and toward their culture(s).
- Goal 3: To develop English language skills commensurate with expectations for students' age and abilities.
- Goal 4: To gain skills and knowledge in the content areas of the curriculum in keeping with stated objectives in these areas.

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In the short run, Goal 3 may not be accomplished in full. Until English language arts are introduced, total immersion students usually do not perform as well as their monolingually educated peers on those sections of achievement tests that measure skills in English language mechanics. That is, students usually do well on measures of reading comprehension but have difficulty with English spelling, punctuation, and similar language-specific skills. Later, when English language arts instruction is formally introduced, this lag in achievement disappears.

Question 3. In total immersion, when is English language arts instruction introduced? How much instruction is given in English?

Response: Different schools phase English in at different grade levels. The original model of total immersion pioneered in Canada introduced English language arts in the second grade with the ultimate goal of instruction being a 50-50 balance of languages in the upper elementary grades. Some schools do not introduce English language arts until fifth grade, and this seems to be a growing trend.

Increasingly, experienced immersion educators are changing to an 80-20 ratio (foreign language to English). The reason is that it has been found that there is no significant difference in English language achievement whether the amount of instruction given in English constitutes 50 percent or 20 percent of the day; in contrast, however, there is a significant difference in students' continued growth in the foreign language when between 80 percent and 50 percent instruction is given in the foreign language.

Question 4. What eventual effect does an immersion program have on the participants' verbal and mathematical skills in English?

Response: The research on this question is both voluminous and unequivocal. Studies have consistently shown that immersion students do as well as, and may even surpass, comparable non-immersion students on measures of verbal and mathematic skills.

Question 5. What are the key ingredients of a successful immersion program?

Response: Successful immersion programs are characterized by:

a) Administrative support
b) Community (parental) support
c) Appropriate materials in the foreign language
d) Qualified teachers. Teachers must be trained (and preferably, experienced) in elementary education and specifically in the grade level to be taught. They must also have near-native proficiency in the oral and written forms of the foreign language.
e) Time for teachers to prepare instructional materials in the language
f) Ongoing staff development

Question 6. What are the advantages and disadvantages of total and partial immersion?

Response: Obviously, each program has its pros and cons. Total immersion has the advantage of being the most effective way of developing foreign language proficiency. It has also been shown that such proficiency does not come at the expense of achievement in English reading language arts or in other areas of the curriculum. The intensity of the immersion experience coupled with the sheer amount of exposure to the foreign language assures that students have the necessary language skills to deal with the abstractions of the curriculum in the upper elementary grades.

Total immersion, however, is not for everyone. Not all parents (or staffs or administrators) buy into the concept that students can learn just as much in a foreign language as in their own. Total immersion has the further disadvantage of requiring a teacher for each immersion class. Not only are immersion teachers somewhat difficult to find, they also may end up displacing someone already on staff since most elementary schools do not already have qualified immersion teachers on board.

In contrast, partial immersion needs only half as many special teachers since each one may serve two immersion classes for one half day each. Therefore it is easier to staff partial immersion and the potential effect on current staff is lessened. Further, partial immersion has appeal to those who want to hedge their bets. It's for those who like the *idea* of immersion but aren't quite sure they trust letting children learn to read in a foreign language. Partial immersion seems to be more palatable to a wider range of parents and school personnel.

Unfortunately, partial immersion is not nearly as effective as total immersion. Students in partial immersion do not develop the level of foreign language proficiency developed by total immersion students. A consequence of this lower level of proficiency is that students have greater difficulty dealing with school curricula in those subjects and grades which are characterized by verbal abstractions.

In the long run, partial immersion does not produce better English language achievement than total immersion, although in the short run the initial lag in achievement associated with total immersion does not occur in partial immersion.

Question 7. At what grade level is it best to begin an immersion program?

Response: In the United States most programs begin

in prekindergarten, kindergarten, or Grade 1. Canadian educators report success with programs beginning in Grade 4 as well as in Grades 7-9. These programs, however, do not appear to serve the wide range of ability and achievement levels characteristic of pupils who enter immersion at the early grade levels.

Question 8. What is the best way to choose participants?

Response: Students who participate in the program are usually not chosen. Rather, students are admitted on the basis of interest. Occasionally, there are more applicants than openings. In such circumstances a school may use a lottery system or choose to select participants on the basis of locally determined criteria.

While most immersion educators believe that the program is suitable for learners of all ability levels, including learning disabled children, there is also general consensus that children with serious delay in first language development, or auditory processing, auditory memory, or general auditory impairment should not be in an immersion program.

Question 9. What kind of commitment should be required for participants and their parents?

Response: Many programs do not require a formal commitment from parents. Others ask parents to commit to keeping their child in the program for a minimum of six months or one year. Whether or not a formal commitment is required, extensive parent orientation prior to admitting students is important to ensure that parents (and where appropriate, students) understand the nature of the program.

Periodically, opportunities should be provided to address parents' questions and concerns which arise once their child is actually in the program. Frequent and close communication between school and parents helps to maintain the commitment parents made when choosing the program for their child.

Question 10. Given the present mobility of the American population, how should a school handle the natural attrition problem in an immersion program?

Response: An effective means to account for the natural attrition which occurs in any program is to start at the early grade levels with a large number of participants so that, despite dwindling numbers, it remains feasible to operate the program in the upper grades without combining grade levels in a single class. Some schools allow new participants to enter the program at any grade. Most have found, however, that the number of new students in any one class should be limited.

Question 11. Is there a way for new students to enter an ongoing immersion program?

Response: Some immersion programs do not allow students to enter the program after the first or second grade. Others will allow students to enter at any grade. It is best to limit the number of new entrants in any one class so that their limited language proficiency does not force the teacher to dilute the level of instruction to accommodate these students' needs.

Some educators believe it is important for the parents of new entrants, as well as the students themselves, to understand the difficulties these children will face. Often, a placement in the immersion program may be made on a trial basis, with a review of the student's progress made after the first 10-12 weeks after placement.

Most often the successful late entrant will be a child who enjoys challenge and hard work, is not easily defeated by frustration, seeks, or at least willingly accepts, assistance from peers, and is motivated to succeed.

Question 12. How are immersion programs staffed?

Response: Immersion requires teachers who are elementary trained and experienced and who have near native proficiency in the language. If current staff members meet these criteria, they are ideal candidates for positions in the program. Usually, however, schools find it necessary to employ new staff. Unless new students come into the school to justify additional positions, a new program frequently results in the unfortunate displacement of some current staff members.

It is not easy to find qualified immersion teachers, but neither is it impossible. In some districts, elementary trained teachers who are fluent in the language may be residing right in the local community. Advertisements may be placed in newspapers of major cities where potential candidates may be found. In addition, some school systems have been successful in recruiting teachers from abroad. Substitutes or permanent replacements are not often readily available; therefore, it is important to identify potential substitutes or replacements well before they are actually needed.

Question 13. How can a program be started without terminating or replacing present staff?

Response: Existing staff need not be supplanted if additional students are recruited. If half-day kindergarten classes are expanded to full-day, additional kindergarten teachers will be needed — whether or not an immersion program is initiated. Although this will not solve staff displacement problems in the ensuing grades, it is possible that through a combination of an increase in the student population and natural staff attrition, displacement may be minimized.

Question 14. Where can we get materials for use in

an immersion program?

Response: French materials are available from both Canadian and European sources. While European materials may be problematic because of mismatches in curricula or linguistic levels, Canadian materials hold more promise. Canadian curriculum is more closely aligned to that of the United States and often French language versions of commonly used American texts are available from major publishing houses. In addition, the long history of Canadian French immersion programs has resulted in materials developed specifically for use in immersion programs.

Spanish language materials for use in the elementary schools have increased considerably with the growth of bilingual programs for Hispanic students. Many major publishing firms now offer Spanish language versions of basal programs in reading/language arts, science, mathematics, and social studies. These materials have the advantage of reflecting the educational philosophy and curricular trends which prevail in the United States. Additional materials are available from sources in Spain, Latin America, and Puerto Rico.

Immersion in other languages is not as common; therefore, identification of appropriate materials has not been as well developed as in French and Spanish. Locally developed curriculum materials in several languages may be obtained from mature immersion programs in schools throughout the United States. Lastly, teachers will need time to adapt or develop their own materials to supplement those obtained elsewhere.

Question 15. What probable effect will an immersion program have upon the school's (or school district's) existing foreign language program?

Response: Obviously, students who are in the immersion sequence cannot profit from instruction in regular foreign language courses. Immersion students are fluent in the foreign language by second/third grade. Therefore provision should be made for their continued growth in the foreign language in the form of specially designed courses. These will be very similar to the language arts courses students receive in English.

The immersion program may also affect the attitudes of non-immersion students toward foreign language instruction. These students may be motivated by the positive attitudes and the proficiency of immersion students. Knowledge of a foreign language may become a valued skill throughout the school because of the immersion program's popularity and success.

Question 16. What kind of middle-school program should a school district have in order to maintain and further develop the language skills acquired?

Response: Ideally students should have the opportunity to continue to grow in their language skills after completing an elementary-school immersion program. This should include two to three periods daily of instruction conducted in the foreign language, one of which will be "foreign language arts." The choice of additional subjects taught in the language will depend on the local school's philosophy, available staff, available instructional materials, and the content of the course itself. Other considerations may include scheduling. A school should consider how an immersion subject fits with the total school schedule. For instance, an immersion subject may conflict with other "singletons" in the schedule. Or immersion students may need to be homogeneously grouped with non-immersion students in certain subjects according to ability. For example, if the school homogeneously groups students for mathematics instruction, it may not be feasible to teach mathematics in the target language.

Question 17. What amount of lead time would the school anticipate before initial implementation of an immersion program?

Response: It is most effective to provide a six-month to one-year planning period prior to initiating an immersion program. During this period the school should ensure that administration, staff, and community understand and support the program concept to be implemented. Training for all staff members is critical. Those who will not be program staff must understand the program and how it operates, because their misunderstanding can unintentionally, (and sometimes intentionally) undermine efforts to recruit and retain pupils for the program. Some non-participating staff, such as the media specialist, may have a direct contribution to make to the program's success. Participating teachers must acquire the additional skills required for effective immersion instruction. Time should also be provided for teachers to plan instruction in detail, to identify commercially available materials or curricular materials produced by other school districts and to prepare instructional materials for local use when no suitable materials are available from other sources. It is this aspect of preparation that is essential to the sanity of participating teachers once the program is underway.

Additional activities during the planning phase should include:

a) Community education
b) Parent and student recruitment and orientation
c) Purchase of instructional materials (including library materials)

d) Visits to existing programs to both observe classes and gain from others' first-hand experiences.

Question 18. For how many students should a school plan?

Response: The number of students in any given class is determined by the school's pupil/teacher ratio. Class sizes in public school immersion programs generally range from 20 to 35. Obviously, a small class size is desirable. In the course of the years there will naturally be attrition. Often, students who leave the program are not replaced. Therefore, it is important to determine the desired size of the cohort at the end of the program sequence and then project backwards to determine the appropriate size of the cohort upon program entry. For example, a school that wants to maintain a class of 20 fifth graders may begin with 40 kindergarteners or first graders.

Question 19. What is staff/pupil ratio?

Response: Class size may be the same as regular classes at the local school. Some immersion programs have aides assigned as well.

Question 20. What does a total immersion program cost?

Response: Costs for immersion programs are only start-up costs, although until the complete sequence of grade levels has been implemented, start-up costs will be annual for 6-12 years (depending on the length of the program sequence).

Costs associated with starting an immersion program, per grade level are:

a) Staff recruitment
b) Staff training
c) Staff time for curriculum materials selection and development
d) Texts and other instructional materials in the language. (These replace English language texts; however, costs for these materials, particularly if imported, may be higher)
e) Visits to other immersion programs
f) Library materials, software, audiovisual aids

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NOTE: *The Center for Applied Linguistics has prepared a listing entitled "Total and Partial Immersion Programs in the U.S. Elementary Schools, 1987." To obtain a copy, or for further information, contact Nancy Rhodes, Center for Applied Linguistics, 1118 22nd Street NW, Washington, DC 20037.*

A Review of Immersion Education in Canada:

Research and Evaluation Studies

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At the time of the introduction of immersion education in 1965 in St. Lambert and continuing to the present, this program has appeared as a somewhat radical means of teaching French to anglophone students. It was uncertain at the beginning how well students would learn French when it was being used as a medium of communication to teach curriculum content areas. It was also uncertain whether students would learn the curriculum content adequately and would be able to maintain and develop their first language. Parents and educators alike expressed these concerns, which formed the basis of the many research and evaluation studies that have been undertaken across Canada. The extensive bibliography in Swain and Lapkin (1982) listing reports, published articles, and books dealing with immersion education attests to these concerns.

This paper contains a review of the results of the research and evaluation studies associated with immersion education in Canada. The results will be reviewed in line with the goals of immersion programs (Genesee, this publication). The following will be examined:

- The achievement attained by participating students in academic subjects such as mathematics and science
- The promotion and maintenance of students' first language development
- The results pertaining to second language proficiency
- The effectiveness of immersion education for children with below average IQs or with learning disabilities
- The social and psychological impact of immersion education on the participating students and on the communities involved

Before reviewing the results, however, one needs to examine the issue of the quality of the studies associated with immersion education in Canada. Thus, in the next section this issue is considered.

Design of Immersion Education Studies

For the most part this section will be concerned with a description of the design of the studies. However, one should note that most

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researchers involved in the major studies of immersion programs were university-based individuals rather than employees of the school boards. When immersion programs began, school administrators did not particularly view them kindly; but parents strongly supported these programs (Genesee, this publication). An objective outside evaluator was less likely to succumb to the pressures of either group in reporting the results or to be obligated contractually to keep results confidential until they were released by the funding agency.

The design of the major evaluations of immersion programs will be examined in terms of the students tested, the tests used, the data analysis procedures employed, and the generalization of results.

Students Tested

The typical evaluation of an immersion program involved a comparison of the performance of all (Lambert and Tucker, 1972) or a sample of all of the immersion students in a program (e.g., Barik and Swain, 1975) with that of anglophone students in a regular English program (e.g., Barik and Swain, 1975) and sometimes with that of francophone students in a francophone school (e.g., Lambert and Tucker, 1972; Swain, Lapkin, and Andrew, 1981). In these studies the first group of students entering the program was tested on an annual basis near the end of the school year over a number of years. Typically, a follow-up group of students entering the program in a subsequent year was also tested on an annual basis as the students proceeded through the program. In this way, the progress of students in the immersion program could be assessed longitudinally while at the same time the stability of the findings could be monitored through a comparison of different groups of students at the same grade level. Thus, the major studies of immersion programs in Canada have been both longitudinal and replicational in design.

Because immersion programs are optional and the decision to enroll in the program rests with parents and students, random assignment of students to immersion and comparison groups could not occur, except in the case where the school administration limited the enrollment into the program. In this case the English comparison group could be drawn from those who wanted to be in the immersion program but who could not enroll (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). For the most part, however, the comparison groups were drawn either from the same school as the one where the immersion program was housed or from a nearby school where the socioeconomic status of the students and characteristics of the community were similar to those of the immersion group being tested. This situation leaves open the possibility that the students in the immersion program may have characteristics that differentiate them from their comparison groups, such as generally having a greater motivation to learn French. Under

these conditions the only reasonable approach to evaluating immersion programs is to recognize that students possessing these characteristics constitute part of the very nature of the program itself and that the question which the evaluation results can answer is how do students in the immersion program perform relative to students receiving the usual educational program? (Swain, 1978a).

Tests Used

The tests which have been used in the evaluation of immersion programs have included standardized tests of subject achievement, of first and second language achievement, and of cognitive abilities as well as homemade tests to measure specific psycholinguistic or linguistic characteristics of students' first and second language abilities. For the most part, the tests of subject achievement and cognitive abilities were administered in English, the students' first language. I will return to this point in discussing the results of the testing.

Data Analysis Procedures

Most of the studies have compared statistically the performance of immersion groups with that of their comparison groups, using analysis of variance or covariance, with students' IQ levels being used as the covariant. Thus, differences in the students' IQs which might have existed between the groups were controlled statistically. This procedure has been used to compensate for the nonrandom assignment of students to their educational programs that was noted previously.

Generalization of Results

The results from any one study of immersion education can be generalized for the program as a whole in the particular school board (school district). Programmatic factors internal to the school system, such as the amount of time devoted to instruction in the second language, and community factors external to the school system, such as the degree to which French is used in the community, would suggest that the results should not be generalized beyond the particular program. At least, however, in the case of early total immersion programs, the pattern of results has been so consistent across programs from the different Canadian provinces that the consistency of the collective evidence outweighs the limited generalization of the results of each individual study. To a lesser degree this outcome is also the case with respect to the results from immersion programs which begin at later grade levels. Inconsistencies in the results across programs will be noted in the appropriate sections that follow.

The overall conclusion concerning the quality of the immersion research and evaluation studies which have been undertaken in Canada is that, given the practical realities of nonrandom assignment of students to programs, the design and analysis are acceptable and

appropriate for the questions being asked. Furthermore, the general consistency of results from the studies carried out across Canada by a number of different researchers provides an argument for the application of these results to other English-speaking students learning a second language through immersion programs.

Academic Achievement

As noted in earlier chapters, one principle of immersion education is that the same academic content will be covered as in the regular English program, the only difference between the two programs being the language of instruction. In an immersion program in which the language of instruction is the students' second language, the concern that the immersion students will be able to keep up in their academic achievement with students taught in their first language is of considerable importance. This concern has largely been allayed as a result of the research evidence.

Immersion students have been tested with standardized tests in mathematics (at all grade levels) and science (from about the fifth grade on), and their performance has been compared to that of students in English-only programs. As mentioned previously, the tests were typically administered in English, even though students were taught the subjects in French. The reason for this approach was straightforward. Although parents wanted their children to learn French, they wanted to be assured that their children would be able to deal with mathematical and scientific concepts in English, the dominant language in North American society. Testing the students in English seemed the best way to gauge their ability to do so. It was thought at the time, however, that not testing the students in the language of instruction might seriously handicap their performance.

The results associated with early total immersion programs consistently show that, whether demonstrating skills in science or mathematics, the immersion students performed as well as the members of English-instructed comparison groups. For example, in summarizing the results of nine years of testing early total immersion students in Ontario, Swain and Lapkin (1982) report that in 38 separate administrations of standardized mathematics achievement tests from the first to eighth grades, the immersion students performed as well as or better than the members of English-taught comparison groups in 35 instances. In three instances an English-instructed group scored significantly higher than an immersion group on one or two of the subtests but never on the test as a whole. The results with respect to science achievement were similar in that the average scores of the

immersion and comparison groups were equivalent in 14 separate administrations of the test from the fifth to the eighth grades.

The results associated with early partial and late immersion programs do not consistently provide evidence for the equivalence of performance between the immersion and comparison groups. In mathematics inferior student performance has occasionally been measured among some groups of early partial immersion students from the third grade on (Barik and Swain, 1977; Barik, Swain, and Nwanunobi, 1977; "Implementation* . . . ," 1980) and in science from the fifth grade on (Barik and Swain, 1978).

In the late immersion programs, when instruction in French as a second language (FSL) had been limited to one or two grades prior to the students' entry into the immersion program, the immersion group's performance was occasionally inferior to that of its comparison group in science (Barik and Swain, 1976a) and mathematics (Barik, Swain, and Gaudino, 1976). However, when late immersion students had FSL instruction each year through to the immersion year, the level of mastery of content taught in French was comparable to that attained by their English-instructed comparison groups (Genesee, Polich, and Stanley, 1977; Stern and others, 1976). The results from the early partial and late immersion programs suggest that the second language skills of the students may at times be insufficient to deal with the complexities of the subject material taught to them in French. In general and over the long run, however, the results suggest that immersion students are able to maintain standards of academic achievement compatible with those of their English-educated peers (see also Tucker, 1975).

The issue of the language of testing is relevant here. As has been noted, the students were usually tested in their first language although taught mathematics and science in their second language. This approach does not seem to have hindered the students as was suspected, adding credence to Cummins' (1981) "interdependence hypothesis." This concept suggests that students' cognitive academic knowledge is held in common storage and can be understood or expressed in either language, given a student's adequate levels of linguistic proficiency in both languages. In this case, the immersion program students gained the knowledge in one language but made full use of it in the other language context, both activities being dependent on a threshold level of linguistic competence in each language.

Would the results have been different had the language of the tests been French? The evidence which exists suggests that they would not have been different for the early total immersion students (e.g., Barik

*Only the first major word of a title is given for references in the text that are cited according to their titles. The complete titles appear in the selected references section at the end of this paper.

and Swain, 1975) or for the late immersion students who had had sufficient prior FSL instruction (Genesee, 1976a).

The impact of the second language proficiency level on test performance is a serious issue and one which has not been well attended to in the testing of academic achievement among minority students. An example from the immersion data illustrates this point: The performance on a social studies test of fourth grade early immersion students and students studying only social studies in French (60 minutes a day of instruction in French since these students began school) were compared. Two different versions of the same test were given, one in English and one in French. Results from the English version of the test revealed no differences in social studies achievement between the groups. Results from the French version of the test, however, revealed a significant difference between the two groups in favor of the immersion program students. Furthermore, the immersion group performed in French as it had in English. When the other group was tested in French, these students' scores were much lower than when the group was tested in English, even though these students had been taught social studies in French. These results indicate quite clearly that testing students in a second language in which they are not highly proficient may not accurately reflect their level of knowledge related to the content of the test. In other words, testing in a second language is a risky business if one wishes to measure accurately students' knowledge of subject content.

First Language Development

Because immersion programs emphasize curricular instruction in French, a concern arose that the development of first language skills might be negatively affected. This lack of development was thought to be potentially most serious at the primary level, when literacy skills in the first language would normally be taught. Indeed, one of the reasons for early partial immersion programs is the fear of some parents and educators that the negative consequences of the early total immersion program on the development of first language literacy skills in the child's formative years would be irreparable. These parents and educators wanted English literacy training to be introduced from the beginning.

To what extent were these fears well-founded? The research evidence on this issue suggests that, for these children, such fears have no basis in fact. In part, this result occurs because these children are members of the dominant linguistic and cultural majority of Canada. As a consequence, English pervades all of their out-of-school life.

On the one hand, the results for students in the early total immersion program indicate that this group is initially behind students in unilingual English programs in literacy skills. Within a year of the introduction of an English language arts component into the curriculum, however, the immersion students perform as well on standardized tests of English achievement as do students in the English-only program (Genesee, 1978a; Swain, 1978b). This is the case even if English is not introduced until the third grade (Edwards and Casserly, 1976) or fourth grade ("Report . . . ," 1972; Genesee and Lambert, in press). Furthermore, in some instances the initial gap is not only closed but the immersion students outperform their English-only program peers in some aspects of measured English language skills (Swain, Lapkin, and Andrew, 1981).

On the other hand, the results of tests given to early partial immersion students, in the second and third grade, who had approximately half of their program devoted to instruction in and about English indicate that this group did less well than their comparison groups on some aspects of measured English language skills. Results from this group of students were compared with (1) those from students in a regular English program in the second or third grade; and (2) with immersion students at the same grade levels whose English reading instruction began in the second or third grade (Barik, Swain, and Nwanunobi, 1977; Swain, 1974). One interpretation of these results is that when literacy skills are taught in both languages at the same time, the interfering and competing surface linguistic features cause confusion; and students require a period of time to resolve this confusion.

The implication for bilingual education is that it is preferable to *teach initially literacy-related skills in only one language, whether it be the first or second language.* This statement does not imply that children should not be exposed to literacy in the other language and encouraged to work out (i.e., spontaneously transfer) the code for themselves. Once the students establish literacy-related skills in one language, they will be able to transfer these skills readily and rapidly to the other language (provided it is mastered), even, possibly, without the students' receiving explicit instruction. The results of immersion programs which begin at later grade levels strongly support this finding. For example, Cziko (1976) compared the performance on tests of reading comprehension in English and French of a group of early total immersion students with the test performance of a group of children who began their immersion program at the fourth grade level. The scores of the two groups were equivalent in both English and French. The students who had begun their immersion experience at the fourth grade had apparently reached the same degree of skill as the early partial immersion students but without the intervening con-

fusion. The results from immersion programs which begin at the seventh or eighth grade level, and which are discussed later with respect to second language skills, also support this view (e.g., Genesee, 1981; Lapkin and others, 1982). However, in a community or social context where the first language may be less strongly supported, as is the case for many language minority children, teaching initially in the first language is likely to compensate for the possible limited use of the language in its full range of functions and skills. Teaching in the first language first is more likely to lead to full bilingualism among minority language students instead of leaving the first language in second place (Cummins, 1981; Swain, 1983).

Results from other studies of early total French immersion students' English language skills are in line with those from standardized achievement tests, indicating that an initial discrepancy exists in literacy-based skills between students from immersion and English programs. Students from English programs initially do better than those from immersion programs. In later grades, however, equivalent performance occurs for both groups. For example, the writing skills of third, fourth, and fifth grade immersion students have been examined. Short stories written by third grade children were analyzed for, among other things, vocabulary use, technical skills (punctuation, spelling, and capitalization), and grammatical skills and the ability to write in a logical, chronological sequence. Small differences were noted between immersion and nonimmersion students in each of these areas (Swain, 1975a). Genesee (1974) reports on a study of the writing skills of fourth grade immersion students. Based on teacher ratings, one finds that the immersion group lagged behind English program students in spelling; but the stories of these students were considered more original. Ratings were similar for sentence accuracy, vocabulary choice, sentence complexity and variety, and overall organization.

Lapkin and others (1982) had elementary teachers globally assess compositions written by fifth grade students in both programs. The teachers did not know which program the students were in (also the case in Genesee, 1974); they knew only that the compositions were written by fifth grade students. The compositions of the two groups were judged to be equivalent. A further analysis of the variety in vocabulary use and the length of the compositions revealed no differences between the groups.

The type of tasks involved in these studies of English writing and achievement represent the context-reduced, cognitively demanding quadrant of Cummins' (1981) language proficiency model. (See pages 11, 12, and 215 of *Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework.*) But what about tasks that are at the context-embedded end of the contextual support continuum? One

group of people to ask this question of are the children's own parents. In a survey of parents conducted in British Columbia, McEachern (1980) asked whether they thought children in primary French immersion programs suffer in their English language development. Of parents who had a child in a French immersion program, an overwhelming 80 percent answered with an unqualified no. Interestingly, of parents who did not have a child in the immersion program, only 40 percent responded in this way. In Ontario a questionnaire distributed to parents of children in immersion programs included a question about their children's ability to express their thoughts in English. Over 90 percent of the parents indicated that they had perceived no negative effects.

With the same question in mind, Genesee, Tucker, and Lambert (1975) undertook a study which examined the communicative effectiveness of total immersion students in kindergarten and in the first and second grades. They found that the children in immersion programs were more communicatively effective and suggested that this facility occurred because their experience in the second language classroom had made them more sensitive to the communication needs of the listener. (See also Lambert and Tucker, 1972.)

Thus, substantial evidence exists that children in early total immersion programs, although initially behind their English-educated comparison groups in literacy-related skills, catch up to and may even surpass their comparison groups once English is introduced into the curriculum. However, the evidence also suggests that no benefit occurs from introducing English and French literacy training at the same time. It would appear preferable to teach these skills explicitly in one language first. The choice of language must be compatible with community and societal factors external to the school program. As has been shown, the immersion children at no time show retardation in their oral communicative skills, a fact due in large part to the overwhelming use of English in their environment, including school (see Lapkin and Cummins, this publication, concerning the use of English in school).

Second Language Development

In this section the results of studies in which researchers have examined the second language development of students in immersion programs will be reviewed. This section begins with a discussion of the results associated with students in early total immersion programs, and within this context, a discussion is presented of the double standard that seems apparent for second language learners from majority

and minority language situations. A brief review of the early partial and late immersion results follows. This section concludes with a comparison of the second language abilities of early and late immersion program students.

When early immersion programs began, the belief was that using the second language to communicate with the children would enable them to acquire the language as children learning a first language do. Although the theoretical rationales (see Genesee, this publication) seemed sound and were strongly reinforced by commonly held views that second language learning is relatively easy for children, there was no guarantee that the program would work. Indeed, some educators were skeptical that learning through a language could be more effective than being taught a language. But the desire to experiment with finding ways to improve students' second language skills prevailed. And with good reason, as the research evidence has demonstrated.

Each study in which a comparison has been made of the second language performance of students in early total immersion programs with that of students in core French as a second language (FSL) programs (20 to 40 minutes of daily FSL instruction which focuses on teaching specified vocabulary and grammatical structures) has revealed a significant difference in favor of the immersion students (e.g., Barik and Swain, 1975; Edwards and Casserly, 1976). In fact, it soon became clear that giving the same test to immersion students and to core FSL students was ill-advised for the following reasons: First, if the level of difficulty was appropriate for immersion students, then the core FSL students would become frustrated, some even to the point of tears at being unable to do any part of the test. Second, if the level of difficulty of the test was appropriate for the core FSL students, then the immersion students became bored and quickly lost interest in the task. It can safely be concluded, therefore, that the combination of the increased time in French and the communicative methodology employed in immersion programs vastly improves the second language proficiency of the students.

But what about the second language performance of the early total immersion students relative to native speakers of French? To answer this question, we look first at the receptive (listening and reading) skills of these students and then at their productive (speaking and writing) skills.

Using a variety of listening and reading comprehension tests, researchers have measured the receptive skills of the immersion program students over the years. The tests have included standardized tests of French achievement, as well as more communicatively oriented tests. In the latter category, for example, are such tests as the *Test de Compréhension Auditive (TCA)* (1978, 1979) and the *Test de Compréhension de l'Écrit (TCE)* (1978, 1979) developed by the Bilin-

gual Education Project of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. In these tests authentic texts from a variety of communicative domains are heard or read, and the students respond to questions about them. In the *TCA*, students listen, for example, to a news report over the radio, a portion of a soap opera, an advertisement, and an interview. In the *TCE*, students read, for example, a comic strip, a clipping from a newspaper, a recipe, and a poem.

On the standardized tests of French achievement, the results from Ontario (Swain and Lapkin, 1982) show that, after six or seven years in a primary immersion program (that is, by the fifth or sixth grade), students perform on the average at about the 50th percentile. It took these children of middle class background, of parents supportive of their program, and with positive attitudes toward learning French until the fifth or sixth grade to attain an average level of performance. It is appropriate to ask, given these data (see also Cummins, 1981), whether it is somewhat unrealistic to expect children in bilingual education programs from minority language backgrounds in the United States to reach grade norms after a year or two in the program.

On some of the locally developed comprehension tests, equivalence between immersion and francophone students has been noted as early as the second grade (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). In Ontario comparisons with francophones were not made until the fifth grade level. Where comparisons have been made, immersion students compare favorably to francophones (e.g., Swain, Lapkin, and Andrew, 1981). From these data, therefore, it appears that early immersion students develop native-like skills in their ability to understand spoken and written texts.

Researchers, using a variety of techniques, have also examined the productive skills of the students in early immersion programs over the years. The results show that these students do not attain native-like proficiency in their spoken or written French (e.g., Adiv, 1981; Genesee, 1978a; Harley, 1979, 1982; Harley and Swain, 1977, 1978; Spilka, 1976).

For example, Harley and Swain (1977) undertook a study designed to provide a description of the verb system used in the speech of fifth grade children in immersion programs. Bilingual and monolingual francophones, also in the fifth grade, were the comparison groups. These researchers concluded that, in general, the children in immersion programs may be said to be operating with simpler and grammatically less redundant verb systems. These children tend to lack forms for which grammatically less complex alternative means of conveying the appropriate meaning exist. The forms and rules that they have mastered appear to be those that are the most generalized in the target verb system (for example, the first conjugation *-er* verb pattern). In the area of verb syntax, it appears that where French has a

more complex system than English, as in the placement of object pronouns, the immersion children tend to opt for a simpler pattern that approximates the one they are already familiar with in their first language.

Numerous other examples could be given of differences between the immersion and francophone students. However, the point here is that the immersion students' communicative abilities (Szamosi, Swain, and Lapkin, 1979; Adiv, 1981) outstrip their abilities to express themselves in grammatically accurate ways. One might ask to what extent this outcome affects native speakers' judgments about immersion students or why the productive capacity of these students is grammatically limited. These questions are dealt with elsewhere (Lepicq, 1980; Harley, 1982; Swain, 1978c) and will not be considered further here.

What is important to consider is the comparison between the second language productive performance of the immersion students in Canada and that of minority students in the United States. Such a comparison provides an excellent example of what might be labeled the linguistic double standard. By this standard majority language children are praised for learning a second language even if it is non-native-like in its characteristics, whereas minority language children must demonstrate full native-like competence in the second language to receive the same praise. Recognition that a double standard exists should surely make us reappraise our expectations for one, if not both groups.

Given the fact that proficiency in a second language for majority group students depends, in part, on the amount of time spent in studying that language, early partial immersion students are not as proficient as total immersion students (Carroll, 1975). Indeed, the second language scores of the early partial immersion students tend to fall between those of early total immersion students and core FSL students (e.g., Barik and Swain, 1976b; Edwards, McCarrey, and Fu, 1980). Although partial immersion students do not perform as well as total immersion students at the same grade level, they tend to perform as well as total immersion students in lower grade levels who have had similar amounts of instructional time in French. For example, a fifth grade partial immersion student and a second grade total immersion student who have each accumulated two and one-half years of French instructional time tend to demonstrate equivalent performance levels. By the eighth grade, the partial immersion students tend to perform as well as total immersion students who are one grade level below them (Andrew, Lapkin, and Swain, 1979). The lower level of linguistic proficiency exhibited by the partial immersion students in the earlier grades may account for their poorer academic achievement in some instances, as noted previously.

late immersion experience, the performance of early and late immersion students on a variety of second language tests, including all four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking, appears to be equivalent. This finding is somewhat unexpected, given the results from Ontario and the presumed advantage of early second language learning.

The differences in results between the Ontario and Montreal programs are an indication of the impact that program design can have on the second language performance of majority language students. In the case of the Ontario programs, the early immersion program maintained a French to English ratio of 80:20 in the third to fifth grades and 50:50 in the sixth to eighth grades, whereas the corresponding figures for the Montreal program were 60:40 in the third grade and 40:60 in the fourth to eighth grades. These figures show that the Ontario early immersion students had considerably more in-school contact time in French than did the Montreal students. This increased time could account for the Ontario students' superior second language performance relative to late immersion students. These results indicate a need for the maximum allotment of time to the second language for majority language students to maintain and further develop their second language skills. This maximum time allotment is essential for majority language children because of the limited use they may make of the second language in out-of-school contexts (Genesee, 1978b; Swain and Lapkin, 1982).

The comparison of early and late immersion students raises the issue of the relative ease of second language learning by younger and older learners. Even in the case of the Ontario programs where the late immersion students remain behind the early immersion students, it is clear that late immersion students have made considerable progress toward the proficiency levels exhibited by the early immersion students. The issue of age and second language learning is a much-debated topic (see, for example, Cummins, 1980; Genesee, 1978c; Krashen, Long, and Scarcella, 1979 for reviews) and will not be dealt with in this paper. Suffice it to say that the immersion results suggest that the older learners may be more effective than younger ones in some aspects of second language learning, most notably in those associated with literacy-related and literacy-supported language skills. It may be, however, that early immersion students feel more comfortable and at ease in the second language and maintain to a greater extent their facility in the second language over the long run. Furthermore, in the case of late immersion programs for majority language children, some students will choose not to learn a second language, because learning a second language is only one of many competing interests which students recognize will take time and energy to learn. Finally, early immersion programs seem to be able to accommodate a

For example, the sixth grade partial immersion students in one study (Barik and Swain, 1978) did not perform as well as their English-educated peers in science or mathematics. It was also the case that their level of French performance most closely approximated third and fourth grade total immersion students. It may therefore be the case that the level of French of these partial immersion students was not adequate to deal with the more sophisticated level of mathematical and scientific concepts being presented to them in French.

As with the early total and partial immersion students, the late immersion students' second language performance is higher than that of core FSL students at the same grade level. However, it has been noted that the second language skills of students in late immersion programs may dissipate unless there is a strong follow-up program to the one or two years of immersion that constitute these programs. (Cziko and others, 1977; Lapkin and others, 1982) Indeed, the question of the maintenance of second language skills of both early and late immersion students in their follow-up programs at the secondary school level is one that needs to be investigated.

Now that early immersion students are entering and beginning to graduate from high school in the Ontario and Quebec programs, it is possible to compare the performance of early and late immersion students. The results of the comparisons emanating from Quebec differ somewhat from those in Ontario. It would appear that the differences can in part be accounted for in terms of programmatic variations, most obviously with respect to the overall amount of time students have been studying in French. These differences in program structures, their associated second language outcomes, and the implications for second language immersion programs will be discussed next.

In Ontario the lead groups of early total immersion students were tested at the eighth grade level, and the performance of these students has been compared with late immersion students also in the eighth grade who had been in a one-, two-, or three-year immersion program (beginning at the eighth, seventh, or sixth grade level, respectively). The results indicate that the early immersion students outperform the late immersion groups on tests of French listening comprehension, reading comprehension, general French achievement, and proficiency (Lapkin and others, 1982; Morrison and others, 1979).

In Montreal comparisons of the early and late immersion program students from the seventh through eleventh grades have been made (Adiv, 1980; Adiv and Morcos, 1979; Genesee, 1981). The results indicate that the early total immersion students outperform the late immersion students after one year (seventh grade) of immersion education. However, in general, from the end of the second year of the

wider range of student personality types and cognitive styles than do late immersion programs (Swain and Burnaby, 1976; Tucker, Hamayan, and Genesee, 1976).

In summary, the second language results of the immersion research and evaluation studies indicate that immersion students attain levels of performance that far exceed those of students in core FSL programs and that immersion students develop receptive skills in the second language comparable to francophones of the same age. However, for early immersion students, the attainment of average performance on standardized tests of French achievement can take up to six or seven years, raising the issue that unrealistic expectations are being held for minority language children in bilingual education programs in the United States.

Although immersion students appear to attain native-like receptive skills, their productive skills continue to remain nonnative-like. They are, however, quite capable of communicating their ideas in spite of their grammatical weaknesses. It was suggested that the educational community would not consider acceptable this same level of productive skills in the second language among minority students. The achievement of this skill level being praised within the majority culture when attained by majority language students and denigrated when attained by minority language students is indicative of a linguistic double standard.

Finally, comparisons between early and late immersion students suggest that late immersion programs can be as effective in developing some aspects of students' second language skills as early immersion programs. However, the advantages in the second language performance of the early immersion students can be maintained with an adequate allotment of instructional time in French. The apparently more rapid second language learning exhibited by the late immersion student should not be taken as an indication that late immersion is, therefore, the best option. As an option this program must be balanced against potential long-term advantages of early bilingualism and the very likely possibility that early immersion education makes bilingualism an achievable goal for a wider spectrum of the population.

Student IQ Level, Learning Disabilities, and Immersion Education

Many students enrolled in primary immersion education are anglophone students of middle to upper-middle socioeconomic back-

grounds. However, students with other background characteristics have enrolled in immersion programs. Some studies have been undertaken to determine whether these students benefit as much from immersion education as their classmates in immersion programs or as their peers (children with *similar* characteristics) in the regular English program. In this section the results of these studies will be summarized for two groups of children—those with below average IQ and those with learning disabilities.

A commonly held view is that immersion education is only for children of above average intelligence. The research evidence contradicts this view. There are several ways this issue might be examined. One way is to determine how immersion students who obtain above average IQ scores perform relative to immersion students who obtain below average IQ scores. It would be expected that above average students would obtain higher scores on second language measures than would below average students, given the usual relationship between IQ and academic performance. In one study (Genesee, 1976b), fourth grade early immersion and seventh grade late immersion students who were below average, average, and above average in IQ levels were administered a battery of French language tests which included measures of literacy-related language skills, such as reading and language usage, as well as measures of interpersonal communicative skills, such as speaking and listening comprehension. Results showed that, as expected, the above average students scored better than the average students, who in turn scored better than the below average students on the tests of literacy-related language skills. However, there was no similar stratification by IQ of performance on the measures of interpersonal communication skills. In other words, the below average students understood as much spoken French as did the above average students, and they were rated as highly as the above average students on all measures of oral production: grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary, and fluency of communication. Thus, it seems that the below average students were able to benefit from French immersion as much as the average and above average students in terms of acquiring interpersonal communication skills in the second language. Furthermore, from the *English* language and academic achievement testing that was carried out with the same sample of students, no evidence appeared that the below average students in French immersion were further behind in English skills' development or academic achievement than were the below average students in the regular English program.

There is another way of looking at this issue. If a student's IQ level is important for his or her success in an immersion program, more so than in a regular English program, then this IQ level should be more highly related to how well a student performs on achievement

tests in the immersion program than in a regular program. Swain (1975b) found, however, that this was not the case; that is, the relationship between a student's IQ and achievement scores was the same for early immersion children and children in the regular English program. The relationship between a student's IQ level and test results of French listening comprehension and French reading and language usage was also examined. The same pattern was found as in Genesee's study cited above; that is, that the acquisition of second language comprehension skills was not related to IQ level but that the acquisition of second language literacy-related skills was related.

These studies, then, suggest that a student's IQ does not play a more significant role in the immersion program than in the regular English program as far as success in school is concerned. Furthermore, acquiring interpersonal communicative skills in a second language would appear in this context to be unrelated to a student's IQ. Thus, although differences will occur in performance among students, the students with below average IQs are not at any more of a disadvantage in an immersion program than they would be if they were in a regular English program. In addition, these students have an equal opportunity of learning second language communicative skills.

Basically the same conclusion has been reached about children with language learning disabilities. The child with a language learning disability is one who has normal intelligence and no primary emotional, motivational, or physical difficulties and yet has difficulty acquiring specific basic skills such as reading, spelling, and oral or written language (Bruck, 1979). It has been found in an ongoing research project designed to investigate the suitability of early French immersion for children with language learning disabilities that:

> When compared to a carefully selected group of language disabled children in English programs, the learning disabled children continue to develop facility in their first language; they learn their basic academic skills at the predicted rate; they exhibit no severe behavioral problems, and perhaps of most importance, they acquire greater competency in French (Bruck, 1979, p. 43).

In her report of this study, Bruck (1978) points out that many learning disabled children who have followed the core FSL program leave school with almost no knowledge of French because the nature of the teaching method seems to exploit their areas of weakness (memory work, repetition of language out of context, explicit teaching of abstract rules). Thus, if learning disabled children are to learn French in school, immersion is the best method by which to do so.

In summary, as with children with below average IQs, no evidence exists which suggests that expectations for learning disabled children

in immersion programs should be any different from those for similar children in regular English programs.

Social and Psychological Effects

In this final section the social and psychological effects of immersion education will be reviewed. First, the immersion students' perceptions of themselves, of English-Canadians, of French-Canadians, and of the broader sociocultural aspects of Canada will be discussed. This discussion of perceptions will be followed by a brief section on the satisfaction with the program as expressed by student participants and members of the community.

A number of studies have been undertaken in Montreal which examine the immersion students' perception of their own ethnolinguistic group, of themselves, and of the French-Canadian ethnolinguistic group. In one study, early immersion and English-educated children were asked to rate themselves, English Canadians, and French Canadians on 13 bipolar adjectives such as friendly-unfriendly (Lambert and Tucker, 1972). The immersion and English comparison groups both made favorable assessments of themselves and of English Canadians. In the earlier grades the immersion students made more favorable assessments of French Canadians than did their English comparison groups. Although this difference in these immersion program students' assessments of French Canadians had disappeared by the fifth grade, these students were clearly more positive when they were asked directly about their feelings and attitudes toward French Canadians. For example, these children were asked: Suppose you happened to be born into a French-Canadian family, would you be just as happy to be a French-Canadian person as an English-Canadian person? Of the fifth grade immersion children, 84 percent responded with "just as happy to be French Canadian," whereas only 48 percent of the English-educated group responded in this way.

In another study (Cziko, Lambert, and Gutter, 1979), fifth and sixth grade immersion and English-educated students were asked to make judgments about the similarity or dissimilarity of pairs of concepts such as themselves as individuals, monolingual English Canadians, monolingual French Canadians, bilingual French Canadians, and bilingual English Canadians. The results indicated that the early immersion students perceived themselves as more similar to bilingual English Canadians and bilingual French Canadians than did the late immersion or English program students. The authors conclude that:

". . . the early immersion experience seems to have reduced the social distance perceived between self and French Canadians, especially French Canadians who are bilingual" (p. 26).

It is possible that the educational experience of the immersion students might lead to a more sophisticated understanding of the social and cultural aspects of Canadian life. To investigate this question, researchers asked fifth and sixth grade immersion students to write a composition on the topic "Why I like (or do not like) being Canadian" (Swain, 1980). Each composition was subjected to a content analysis, and the substantive comments that had been written were identified and tabulated. Several interesting findings emerged. First, the immersion students' commentary spanned a much broader perspective in that this group gave on the average two to three times as many reasons for their choice than did the English comparison groups. Second, three times as many immersion students as English program students commented specifically on the rich and varied cultural and/or linguistic composition of Canada. Third, over 20 percent of the immersion children, but none of the English-educated children, commented on the possibility in Canada of being able to speak more than one language. In general most of the compositions written by the English students focused on the natural beauty of Canada as opposed to the beauty of linguistic and cultural diversity which was as likely to be mentioned in the composition of the immersion students.

Whether the views of immersion students are the result of their schooling experience, the influence of their parents, or their experience in the wider community cannot be determined from the studies undertaken. Probably, these students' views reflect the interaction of all three influences. Practically speaking, the source of the students' views is probably less important than their existence.

Immersion and core FSL students were asked to give their opinions about the French programs in which they were enrolled. Lambert and Tucker (1972) found that, relative to core FSL students, fourth and fifth grade immersion program students were much more likely to say that they enjoy studying French the way they do. They thought that their program had just about the right amount of time spent on French (core FSL students tended to say that too much time was spent on French) and that they wanted to continue learning French. This study suggests a general endorsement by immersion students of their program and way of learning French.

In a study in which these same immersion children in the eleventh grade and their parents were interviewed, Cziko and others (1978) concluded that "there is a very clear appreciation for the early immersion experience on the part of the early immersion students and their parents, who, in the vast majority, say that they would choose the immersion option if they had to do it all over" (p. 23).

In a comparison of the early and late immersion students in Ontario at the eighth grade level (Lapkin and others, 1982), it was found that the early immersion students were more likely to respond that they would prefer a bilingual high school program than would late immersion students. Early immersion students also were more likely to say that the amount of time they were currently spending in French was "about right" or "a bit too short," whereas the late immersion students were more likely to respond that they would prefer a program with less French in it and that the amount spent in French was "a bit too long." Thus, in general, immersion students express satisfaction with their program, with early immersion students being the most positive and core FSL students being the least positive.

Although parents who have children enrolled in an immersion program express satisfaction with it, tensions have arisen concerning the growth of these programs. As immersion programs grow in size and number, certain sectors of the community feel threatened (Burns and Olson, 1981). One sector is the English-speaking parents who want their children to attend, or continue to attend, the regular English program in their neighborhood school. They see the space in their neighborhood school being taken up by increasing numbers of immersion students and have formed concerned parents organizations to argue against the growth of immersion programs. The tensions created by the pro-immersion and anti-immersion parents have surfaced in communities across Canada and have recently received extensive nationwide press coverage (e.g., "A Dispute . . . ," January 9, 1982).

The problem would probably not be so serious were it not for the declining enrollments that schools across Canada are experiencing. The only area of growth is in the French immersion programs, and the problems of declining enrollment in English-speaking schools are thus being intensified. The most threatened group and, therefore, predictably, the most loudly outspoken group against French immersion programs is monolingual English-speaking teachers (Burns and Olson, 1981). They consider their own job security to be threatened by immersion programs and recognize that they themselves could never, even if they wanted to, make the transition to teaching in an immersion program where native-speaking proficiency in French is essential. Thus, the current rapid expansion of immersion programs (Lapkin and Cummins, this publication) has brought with it concern on the part of English-speaking teachers, which is supported by parents of their students in the local community. The resolution of these tensions is yet to come.

In summary, the psychological and social impact of immersion programs has in no way affected the immersion students' views of themselves or their own ethnolinguistic group while at the same time

it has closed somewhat the social gap between the perceptions of themselves and of French-Canadians. Immersion students and their parents express satisfaction with their program. However, conditions of declining enrollment in the wider society have resulted in a threat to job security for teachers and, for parents, a threat of school closings in their neighborhood, leading to inevitable tensions in the school and community. Immersion education may become a scapegoat for these groups as a result of its unqualified success within the Canadian context in improving the second language proficiency of English-speaking students.

Conclusions

The results of the research and evaluation studies associated with immersion education for majority language children in Canada indicate that the goals of the program (Genesee, this publication) have been met. The students have achieved high levels of proficiency in the second language while developing and maintaining normal levels of first language proficiency. Students have attained this degree of bilingualism with no long-term deficit observed in achievement in academic subjects. The immersion students appreciate the program in which they have participated and express positive attitudes toward the target language group while maintaining a healthy self-identity and appreciation for their own linguistic and cultural membership.

The results also highlight several important principles related to the schooling of majority and minority language children: .

- The language of tests is an important consideration when students are being tested for knowledge of subject content. Their knowledge may be underrated if their proficiency in the language of the test has not reached a threshold level. Even though students may have been taught the subject content in one language, this approach does not necessarily imply that testing should occur in that language.
- Initial literacy instruction in two languages at the same time may lead at first to slower rates of student progress than having students first develop literacy-related skills in one language.
- Effective communication in the first or second language does not imply grade level performance on literacy-based academic tasks. It is, however, an important precursor.
- The ability to function in context-reduced cognitively demanding tasks in the second language is a gradual learning process extending over a number of years, as indicated by the fact that

immersion program students take up to six to seven years to demonstrate average levels of achievement in the second language relative to native speakers of the language.

- The development of the students' ability to function in context-reduced cognitively demanding tasks in the first language underlies the students' ability to do the same in the second language. Thus, students who begin their immersion program at a later age than early immersion students make more rapid progress in these literacy-related aspects of the second language.

The results of immersion education for English-speaking Canadians are impressive. For minority language children to achieve similar goals, the first language will need to play as strong a role cognitively, psychologically, and socially during the time when children are acquiring their language skills.

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